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# National Association for Constitutional Government

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## The Aims of the Association

It is the object of the Association to propagate a wider and more accurate knowledge of the Constitution of the United States, and of the distinctive features of constitutional government as conceived by the founders of the Republic; to inculcate an intelligent and genuine respect for the organic law of the land; to bring the minds of the people to a realization of the vital necessity of preserving it unimpaired, and particularly in respect to its broad limitations upon the legislative power and its guarantees of the fundamental rights of life, liberty, and property; to oppose attempted changes in it which tend to destroy or impair the efficacy of those guarantees, or which are not founded upon the mature consideration and deliberate choice of the people as a whole; and to this end, to publish and circulate appropriate literature, to hold public and corporate meetings, to institute lectures and other public addresses, to establish local centers or branches, and generally to promote the foregoing objects by such means as shall from time to time be agreed upon by the Association or by its governing bodies.

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To render the Association an efficient means of accomplishing its purpose, there is need, first, of adequate financial support in order that it may print and circulate desirable literature, and second, of an extended membership which will be able to carry its influence into every community.

As the aim of the Association is patriotic rather than partisan, it feels warranted in appealing to all citizens who value the institutions inherited from our fathers.

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If you cannot afford to be a member, send us your name and address as a Friend of the Constitution.

# The Enemy Within Our Gates; Bolshevism's Assault Upon American Government

*By Henry Campbell Black, LL. D.*

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What is bolshevism? A Russian woman lately said that it was not a theory but a behavior. It is true that it is not so much a school of political philosophy as a career of crime. It makes its specious appeal on behalf of the poor and oppressed, but it arms them with fire and sword. Its red banner is the symbol of destruction. It is the enemy of the human race. It derives its numerical strength from the criminal class which infests the underworld of every civilized community, and from the great mass of potential criminals, who are restrained only by the fear of the law, and who are ready to break out into predatory and homicidal activities as soon as anarchy has swept away the punitive power of justice. To these, of course, in countries such as Russia and Germany, must be added, as easily gained recruits, the uncounted numbers of men of the proletariat, rendered desperate and disheartened by the sufferings of the war, by unrequited toil, famine, and pestilence. But bolshevism derives its inspiration—its motive power—not only from astute and unscrupulous rogues, but also from educated but misguided fanatics, from sentimentalists, from sophomoric editors, and from occasional words of encouragement dropped by idealists in

high places, heedless of the terrible forces their utterances may evoke. Bolsheviks are the hyenas that slink upon the heels of the dogs of war. Wise men and patriotic men put themselves on guard; they do not parley with hyenas under soft Marmorean skies.

If it is a theory at all, bolshevism means the dictatorship of the proletarians. The industrial and agricultural laborers and peasants must be vested with supreme and uncontrolled power. There shall be no government but their will, no laws but the resolutions of their committees. The peasants shall own all the land, and the workers all the factories. All other wealth shall be confiscated and either divided among the now dominant class or held in community. There shall be no courts of justice; a soviet will hear disputes, impose fines, and sentence to death. The newspapers must be suppressed. All the rest of the men, women, and children in the nation are classed as the "bourgeoisie." In this category are placed those who own any property, those who have not been accustomed to work with their hands, those who are educated, even all those who are suspected of any preference for public order, systematic government, personal decency, or the amenities of life. And the bourgeoisie must either submit or die. And they have been dying and are dying, in Russia, by the thousands. Quite frankly it is the purpose of the bolsheviks to reduce all other men to abject and helpless submission or else to exterminate them. That is the word and the only word which describes their program.



So far we have a theory which has advanced one step beyond anarchy. It is class-hatred and class-war. But at least there is one class which is supposed to dominate and to direct the state. But if the besotted rank and file of this sanguinary cult imagine themselves to be masters of other men, or even of their own fate, they are ignorant of the intentions of their leaders. There is to be a dictatorship of the proletariat, it is true, but the few who are in the lead intend to dictate to the dictators. Lenin, in his address to the "All-Russian Soviet Congress," did not hesitate to say: "How can we secure a strict unity of will? By subjecting the will of thousands to the will of one. This subjection, if the participants in the common work are ideally conscious and disciplined, may resemble the mild leading of an orchestra conductor; but may take the acute form of a dictatorship, if there is no ideal discipline and consciousness. Today the same revolution, and indeed in the interest of socialism, demands the absolute submission of the masses to the single will of those who direct the labor process." And so we come around again to autocracy; but it is now autocracy of a peculiarly brutal and revolting type.

What bolshevism has already done in Russia is too long and too painful a story for repetition here. But it may be summed up in brief. The revolutionists have confiscated the land, the banks, the mills and factories; they have repudiated the public debt; they have perpetrated robbery, murder, arson, public and private pillage, on a

scale to which history records no parallel. Everywhere it is the same — paralysis of industry, ruin of commerce, theft, cruelty, assassination of their innocent victims by the uncounted thousands, starvation, death, chaos. They have abolished all the fundamental principles of liberty and of civilization. "In sentiment," says a writer in one of our newspapers, "bolshevism is an appeal that Lazarus shall be fed at the rich man's table, but in practice it is a brutal savagery which, like a wild beast, kills and tortures to vent its bestiality." "It is evident," says the *New York Times*, "that the French Reign of Terror was a mild and moderate exercise of authority by a government leaning culpably to the side of mercy, when contrasted with what is going on in Russia." And of Lenin the same paper remarks: "When his brief hour ends, he will have the satisfaction of knowing that he did more harm to the human race than was ever done by one man in any such short time since history began to be recorded in the tombs along the Nile." Notwithstanding these unpalatable facts, there are still some exceedingly foolish persons in America who are doing no little harm by praising Lenin and Trotzky and their cutthroat associates as men of lofty ideals who are striving for the regeneration of the earth.

There is this much truth in it, that they have taken the round world as the field for their operations. They mean that their doctrines and their practices shall prevail in every country of the earth, *including the United States*. An eminently trustworthy wit-

ness before the Senate investigating committee, who was recently attached to the staff of the American Embassy at Petrograd, testified as follows: "They are working with all the devilishness they have to spread their doctrines throughout the world. As late as November 18, last, Lenin said in Moscow, and I have a copy of the statement with me, that they had sympathizers with great organizations behind them in Scandinavia, in Germany, in England, and in France. He also named this country as one of the targets they were aiming at. 'The power that has crushed Germany,' he said, 'is also the power that will in the end crush England and the United States.' On another occasion and within the last few weeks, Lenin said that this year will decide whether or not bolshevism is to triumph in other parts of the world." It was well said by Gertrude Atherton: "The world has gone mad in spots after a great war before; but this spectacle of 3,000,000 men gorging themselves daily on blood and rapine and setting out to conquer the earth that they may excite themselves daily with new forms of torture is reserved for the twentieth century."

Throughout central Europe, the atmosphere of defeat and discouragement, the reactions caused by the prolonged sufferings of the war, and the toppling of the thrones of emperors, kings, and princelets, leaving the formation of new governments to be a mere scramble for power, created an ideal opportunity for the spread of the red propaganda. It was a case of the "house swept and garnished," and

there entered the seven devils of bolshevism. In December, a well-informed correspondent telegraphed in these words: "Up through the European chaos is surely creeping the menace of bolshevism—not socialism, but that bolshevism which is the revengeful shadow of reckless, modern materialism. Only the imagery of the Apocalypse can do justice to the present state of Europe. It is not a political but a spiritual crisis. The victory of the maritime powers is an immense moral responsibility, because on the victors lies the task of saving and reconstructing all that is worth saving in civilization." The memory of what happened in Berlin is still fresh in our minds. The insurrection of the Spartacans (as the German bolshevists called themselves) was put down by force, but only after the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property, the loss of several hundred lives, and the wounding of at least a thousand persons. Superior force prevailed, because a bolshevist with arms is out to kill, and while he is never open to argument, his flesh is pervious to machine-gun bullets.

Meanwhile the insidious virus is working in the veins of other peoples. Rumania flames up in revolt. Bolshevist propagandists have been very active there. There is a formidable riot in Bucharest. The palace is besieged; the royal family are fired upon, and the king is wounded. In Switzerland there is discovered a hotbed of intrigue. Attempts are made to corrupt that self-respecting people by the circulation of inflammatory literature, by personal



canvassing, by the lavish use of money, by threats, and by diplomatic ultimatums from Petrograd. With great difficulty Switzerland escapes the net, but not without alarming and insistent demands for the revision of the Swiss constitution. There are outbreaks in Portugal—preceding, but not connected with the attempted royalist counter-revolution. Oporto is occupied by “democrats” and bands of guerrillas. Many are killed and wounded when troops are sent to the city to restore order. The Scandinavian kings are clinging desperately to their tottering thrones. The Soviet government maintains an envoy at Stockholm, apparently abundantly supplied with money and everything else he needs for his task of regenerating Sweden. In despatches of a month or two ago we read: “From Russia bolshevik money is pouring in. At Haparanda on the Finnish frontier, have been unearthed 50,000 proclamations in illiterate Swedish, all of them printed at Petrograd, and there is even talk, when the reds have re-conquered Finland, as they hope to do, of an army of Russians coming to help their Swedish fellow reds. And Sweden is so frightened at the prospect that her police are making a minute inventory of every foreigner in the kingdom, and they threaten ruthlessly to expel every man who cannot prove that he is not a bolshevik. Denmark’s bolsheviks, though less numerous than Sweden’s, are even more aggressive and confident. They, too, have Russian money and Russian propaganda — in fact, red-flagged bolshevik propaganda ships actually anchor in Copenhagen harbor.

In Norway there are practically no moderate socialists. Bolshevism dominates the official socialist party and sits supreme in the socialist headquarters. The bolsheviks, of course, demanded Haakon's overthrow, and of course also the formation of soldiers' and workmen's councils, which would hold all power. But the fact that all Norwegian socialists are bolshevik frightened all Norwegians who were not socialists, and as a result they turned out solidly at the autumn general election and voted for the conservatives."

England has not been untainted. More than a year ago, Cardinal Bourne gave solemn warning of a coming crisis, predicting a social upheaval as one of the results of the war. Sidney Brooks, certainly a well-informed publicist and not given to exaggeration, says: "The hubbub over syndicalism and collectivism and the revolution and the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has been far more widely spread in Great Britain than most people are aware; and it has resulted in the growth of a definite school of working-class opinion which aims avowedly at the overthrow of the capitalist system, which regards property as robbery, which openly proclaims a class war, and which denies with passion that employers and employed ever have had or ever can have any interests in common." One of our own socialists of the saner sort goes even further in his testimony. "In England," says Charles Edward Russell, "there is a distinct organized movement already, participated in by men and women of distinction, to introduce the soviet; and in every recent labor

conference, there have been outspoken expressions of bolshevist sympathy." There can be no doubt whatever that the recent outbreak of most menacing strikes in London and elsewhere in England was stimulated, if not actually caused, by the active agents of the bolshevists, who, as was well known, had been circulating among the workers and spreading their pernicious doctrines. And in Ireland, to add to the distractions of that unhappy people, a secret, underground, but very active propaganda of Russian revolutionism is at work. It is described by a correspondent as "a case of crime camouflaged as politics. It is a case of crime seeking a chance to lay foundations for its work by taking advantage of democracy's traditional passion for liberty." And in France, the other day, if the cowardly hand which aimed a blow at the life of the venerated Clemenceau was not guided from Russia, at least its dastard act was prompted by a bolshevist heart.

Who shall set limits to the ambitions of such men as Lenin and Trotzky? A despatch from London advises that: "The Russian bolshevik government for a long time has been organizing an extensive propaganda for revolutions in China, India, and Persia, and is now ready, as soon as the opportunity offers, to send agents with large sums of money to stir up trouble throughout Asia." Does all this seem very remote from sane and liberty-loving America? Well, let us bring the tableau a little nearer home.

In the middle of January, general strikes, accompanied by rioting, organ-

ized attacks on churches, convents, hotels, and public buildings, broke out in Buenos Aires. The disorder was suppressed, the military and police forces being aided, so we read, by several hundred student volunteers, a machine-gun company, and patrols of "civilian guards with rifles and drawn revolvers." But about 800 persons lost their lives, and not less than 5,000 were injured, of whom 1,500 received treatment in the hospitals. Chiefly from the confessions of some of the prisoners, the police of Buenos Aires and of Montevideo were able to put together all the details of the plot which underlay this outbreak. It was instigated and engineered by Russian revolutionaries and native sympathizers. It was purely and simply a bolshevist uprising. There was an elaborate plan to overthrow the existing governments in both Argentina and Uruguay, and to set up soviet governments in both countries. So sure were the conspirators of their success that they had already selected the chief officials for their new states. And these men, by the way, were among those put under arrest. And what was Argentina's answer to this violent assault upon her integrity and peace? Let the simple words of a press despatch from Buenos Aires answer: "Fourteen hundred prisoners charged with maximalist activities are on board a cruiser here awaiting deportation. The majority of them are Russian Jews."

Still nearer to the United States creeps the black shadow of organized anarchy and crime. No, that is a mistake. It is already upon us. The poison is in our blood this day. And it must



be admitted with shame that there was already a taint which permitted the deadly infusion. There are not wanting prophets to tell us that bolshevism can gain no headway in the United States; that our workingmen are prosperous and level-headed; that our socialists are of the "parlor" or innocuous variety; that the common sense of the American people is sturdy enough to withstand the baleful effects of the lethal dose. But have we no I. W. W.? Have we no criminal and potentially criminal classes? The state socialist convention in Illinois demands that the American Government shall immediately recognize the bolshevik government of Russia. The state socialist convention in Minnesota adopts resolutions indorsing the policies of the Russian bolsheviki. The state socialist convention in New York "greeted with joy and confidence the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic, the first socialist republic in the world." And the Pennsylvania state socialist convention cables to Lenin and his gang, "Your achievement is our inspiration." Are these things evidence of socialistic mansuetude? And let it not be forgotten that, in spite of the withdrawal from the party of many men who could not stomach such utterances as those quoted, the socialist party has grown enormously during the war. And outside its ranks, how many Americans are there who secretly or openly sympathize with bolshevist ideas? We shall never know until they are in jail. But meanwhile straws show the current of the wind. Perhaps it is not without significance when a United States Sena-

tor, addressing that body, though he disclaims any approval of lawlessness and violence, says that he "feels pity for the patient, ignorant bolsheviki," or when a former member of Congress, speaking to a convention, records his conviction that "the only cure for bolshevism is to give them justice. Bolshevism means rule by the majority. That does not sound unfair."

If we were left to deal with our own domestic problems in our own way, perhaps it might not be difficult to control these tendencies. But that is not the case. The Russian propaganda is in our midst and is actively at work. A certain scoundrel named Radek, who conducts the bolshevist bureau for this purpose, lately boasted to an American correspondent abroad that "the money sent to Berlin to finance the revolution was as nothing compared to the funds transmitted to New York for the purpose of spreading bolshevism in the United States." A witness before the Senate committee, being asked if he knew of "any effort to bring that propaganda into this country," replied: "I could not go into a court and prove it, but after going to meetings in Chicago, there is no question about the desire to bring about that scheme of government in America." He described a meeting in the Chicago Coliseum, where an audience cheered the names of Lenin and Trotzky for five minutes, as also every comment by speakers to the effect that America would be the next nation to adopt the soviet system of government. Another witness before the same committee was more specific. He said: "I have the informa-

tion, given me in Petrograd, that already the agents of Trotzky and Lenin have been sent to this country and that they have in operation a central bureau of propaganda somewhere in this country. This propaganda is false and at the same time insidious. I have been astounded at some of the people who are willing to take it seriously. Only a few days ago a major in the United States Army told me that they had found a great mass of this treasonable stuff in a camp where large numbers of American soldiers are being demobilized." Pressed to say whether he knew of any agents who have been sent here by the bolshevist government, he named one, but added: "If I gave my authority, it would mean the death of certain persons in Russia; it was of the highest."

But this is not all, nor the half. The Associated Press despatches of January 6th carried a statement that agents of the Department of Justice, in New York City, had been assigned to the work of frustrating the activities of five groups of bolsheviki which had established headquarters there. It was added that the spread of their specific doctrines had become "alarming." A deputy attorney general of New York, at the same time, stated that his department had unearthed evidence that secret agents of Lenin and Trotzky had reached the city with a fund of nearly \$500,000 to be used for their propaganda purposes. (So Radek's boast was not in vain.) The despatch continued: "These agents have been circulating in workshops and factories, holding secret meetings which

culminated today in the opening session of a three-day convention in the Labor Lyceum building. The chief purpose of this convention is said to be to absorb into the bolshevik movement in this and other cities members of the Industrial Workers of the World, anarchists, and radical socialists. Plans of the agitators also are said to include a program for weaning away from the American Federation of Labor radical members of 65 unions throughout the country, who are to be urged to organize workingmen's councils under the Lenin-Trotsky plan. At the offices of the Department of Justice it was admitted that a card index of 2,000 red agitators in this city, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Boston, and other places has been compiled. More than 500,000 persons in this city, it was said, are active or passive followers of the bolshevik movement." Moreover, thoughtful citizens are gravely concerned over the persistent and crafty attempts of these people to stir up discontent and rebellion among the returning American soldiers who find difficulty in securing immediate employment. For there is strong evidence that something very like a systematic campaign is being conducted to gain recruits for bolshevism among the demobilized troops. And even more than this, there is room to believe that these Russian gossellers have advanced beyond argument and persuasion and are beginning to launch their exploits of terrorism. In Philadelphia, an investigation is being made of meetings held in various parts of that city by recently formed organizations called respectively the "Deputies of Russia Soviet



Workers' Colony of Philadelphia" and the "All-Russia Soviets Committee of America." There may be no connection between these meetings and the bomb outrages perpetrated at about the same time at the homes of three prominent citizens of Philadelphia, but those who are best informed believe that there is such a connection, and a very direct one. No wonder that Senator Thomas says that "democracy today is in greater danger from the forces let loose in Russia than it was when Germany took up arms against Great Britain and France." No wonder that Senator Weeks declares that the American people do not understand that the real purpose behind this propaganda is the overthrow of their Government, and that until they do understand, it cannot be stamped out.

But the climax of audacity was reached when bolshevist agitators held a meeting on a Sunday afternoon in one of Washington's largest theaters, within sight of the Capitol and within a stone's throw of the White House. The advertised purpose of this meeting was to tell "The Truth About Russia," but the truth about Russia was very successfully concealed. The speakers devoted themselves to praising and advocating bolshevism in preference to the American system of democracy. Our institutions and form of government were the subject of pointed disparagement. The principal speaker declared that the people would want a soviet system instituted in America when it was seen how admirably it worked. He remarked: "America sooner or later is going to accept the

soviet government, and when America discards some of the ideas current in the papers, it will not find it so difficult to swallow." The audience packed the theater to its utmost capacity, and, we are told, was "wildly demonstrative." Outbursts of applause were frequent. Shouts of "Hurrah for the bolsheviki!" resounded. At least three members of Congress were in the audience, and one of them made a speech from a box, calling for the immediate withdrawal of the American troops from the north of Russia, a proposition which the meeting deliriously approved.

The chairman of this meeting and introducer of the speakers was Mr. Judson King, of Washington. Mr. King is secretary of the National Popular Government League. That body, which claims something like two million adherents, advocates the "gateway" amendment to the Constitution, and some, if not all, of its members favor the general introduction and use of the initiative and referendum, and the unseating of any judge who declares an act of legislation to be unconstitutional. Its recent "reconstruction conference" was held in a public building in Washington and was addressed by certain members of the Cabinet, one of whom took occasion to express his fear that there was a conspiracy on the part of the rich to shift the burden of taxation to the shoulders of the poor. Now, of course, it is only a coincidence that Mr. Judson King, chairman of the meeting at Poli's Theater, was Mr. Judson King, secretary of the League. No one charges that organization with

bolshevist leanings. But it is perfectly permissible to inquire what sort of soil for their sowing the bolshevists would find here in America if our Constitution were jimmied wide open, if our judges were muzzled, and if initiative and referendum petitions went flying down the gale like leaves in Vallombrosa.

The chief speakers at the meeting referred to were Albert Rhys Williams and a woman known as Louise Bryant, though she is the wife of one John Reed. Both Reed and his wife (recently in Russia) were very close to the bolshevist leaders in Petrograd and spent much time at their headquarters. Williams is the chief apologist of the Russian revolutionaries in this country, and came here from Russia, with a commission to conduct their campaign of propaganda in the United States. He has lately made addresses in many cities, and it is alleged that more than 100,000 copies of a pamphlet on bolshevism written by him have been distributed in this country.

The incident referred to aroused, we are glad to say, a storm of popular and congressional indignation. Almost immediately the matter was made the subject of strong denunciation in the Senate, and a searching investigation by a special committee was ordered. In the course of the debate, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, gave the American people plain and solemn warning of the danger that besets them. "Unless the people of this country," said he, "the plain, law-abiding, middle-class people, realize, and realize very soon, the fact that there is a conspiracy, usually secret but

frequently open, working for the overthrow of the Government of the United States and to erect upon its ruins a so-called government of murderers, anarchists, thieves, and criminals, with here and there some honest but deluded individual among them, the avalanche may be upon them in the near future."

Then of course there was great scurrying to cover, disclaimers, recanting, attempts at exculpation. Mr. Judson King says that the reports of the meeting at the theater were incorrect, that there was no proposal to overthrow the Government, that the denunciation of the meeting is "an attempt to throttle free speech." The Bryant woman says she realizes that bolshevism "would not fit America." She tries to pose as a martyr. Williams undergoes a prolonged interrogation by the Senate committee, and, in addition, occupies an hour in explaining his views and in lauding the Russian agitators as "sincere idealists who are seeking to erect a Utopianly perfect form of government." He freely admits that he had been in the employ of the bolsheviki in Russia, and that when he left there in June of last year he possessed the authorization of the Trotzky-Lenin government to organize and manage a bolshevist "bureau of information" in this country. He testifies that the reports coming out of Russia as to the use of violence by the bolsheviki have been grossly exaggerated. He estimates that, up to June, 1918 (now nearly a year ago), certainly not more than about 45,000 persons had been slaughtered. Apparently he thinks this an inconsiderable number of



victims. Although personally he deprecates the use of sabotage and gunpowder as a means of reforming government, he is clear that there are Americans who are quite ready and cheerfully disposed to resort to the rifle and the bomb. He says: "There are Junkers in America who favor shooting down those who oppose them. *I spoke before a group of them in Philadelphia not long ago.*"

John Reed was also examined by the Senate committee. The cynical frankness of his testimony prompts the remark that men of his stripe find their immunity only in the amazing carelessness and incurable optimism of the American people. He described himself as a revolutionary socialist, and told the committee that he was a firm advocate of a revolution in the United States, although "not necessarily" by force. He believed the bolshevik regime in Russia was "doing great work." He freely admitted that he was employed by the "international revolutionary propaganda bureau of the bolshevist ministry of foreign affairs," and that he expected to start an "information bureau" in New York soon, adding that "there are some wealthy women in New York who have nothing else to do with their money." He was asked if he had made a statement in a speech at Yonkers a few days before, that "three million rifles are in the hands of three million Russian workmen, and soon three million rifles will be in the hands of American workmen to do the same thing that is being done in Russia." His answer was that he "could not recall" such a statement.

Then came the general strike in Seattle. It was prompted by the I. W. W., the radical socialists, and the large recent accessions of workingmen from Russia. These elements were able to sway organized labor. Their plan was for the establishment of a soviet government which should be the exact duplicate of that prevailing in Russia. They looked far beyond the local field. They thought their torch had lit a flame which would sweep the entire United States. The strike was put down by the courageous mayor of the city, Ole Hanson, whose vigor in action and whose patriotic faith deserve the most unstinted praise. This is his own account of the matter: "We organized 1,000 extra police, armed with rifles and shotguns, and told them to shoot on sight anyone causing disorder. We got ready for business. We had already had trouble in two instances heretofore, and had completely whipped the bolsheviki. They knew we meant business, and they started no trouble. I issued a proclamation that all life and property would be protected, that all business should go on as usual, and this morning all our municipal street cars, light, power plants, water, etc., were running full blast. *This was an attempted revolution which they expected to spread all over the United States.* It never got to first base, and it never will if the men in control of affairs will tell all traitors and anarchists that death will be their portion if they start anything. Law and order are supreme in our city. The labor unions must now cleanse themselves of their anarchistic element, or

the labor unions must fall. They are on trial before the people of this country. I take the position that our duty as citizens stands ahead of the demand of any organization on the face of the earth. The union men, the business men, the churchmen, must first of all be citizens. Any man who owes a higher allegiance to any organization than he does to the Government should be sent to a Federal prison or deported. Let the National Government stop pondering and conciliating the men who talk against it. Let us clean up the United States of America. Let all men stand up and be counted. If the majority of the people of this country are disloyal and owe superior allegiance to some other country, now is the time to find it out. We refuse to treat with these revolutionists. Unconditional surrender is our only terms."

This is sound advice. What are we going to do about it? We know that we have patriotism and plenty of it. All of us are ready to fight and die for our ideals. We have proved that. God give us clear-eyed sight to discern the danger signals and common sense to read their meaning. Thanks to the Benvign Power which has safeguarded the destinies of America, in spite of our easy-going tolerance and our sublime belief in our own sanity, it is not yet too late. But the menace is great; the crisis is imminent. And let thanks be given again that at last America is waking up. From every side we hear voices of warning and of protest. Meetings and resolutions are the necessary preliminaries to effective action, because they record popular convic-

tion. They should therefore be welcomed. And it is cause for rejoicing that meetings and resolutions appropriate to the spirit which America should display in this emergency are not confined to any one class, kind, or section of our people. For instance, it was a fine thing when the printers of Washington, represented in Columbia Typographical Union, recorded their conviction that "law and order should be maintained under all circumstances, and that the rightful demands of the working classes of the country for justice can be more surely and effectively brought about by peaceful and lawful means — through agitation, education, organization and the ballot — rather than by cowardly and uncivilized use of dynamite or other unlawful means," and resolved that the Union "unreservedly condemns and repudiates any and all persons who encourage or resort to violence and destruction of life and property during labor troubles, or at any other time, and believes that the maximum penalty should be inflicted upon all those who so violate the laws of the land."

If our laws are inadequate to deal with the situation, new laws must be made. And they are on the way. Bills are pending in Congress to prohibit, under very severe penalties, the display of the red flag of anarchy and of all acts and counsels of violence directed against the Government of the land. It would be well if the amendment to the Espionage Act, known as the Sedition Law, which expires with the termination of the war, were made a permanent part of our statutes. Then, we



must thoroughly purge our country of these vipers of bolshevism. This, too, is on the way. Mr. William B. Wilson has very recently said: "It is my intention as Secretary of Labor, now that the unusual danger of sea travel is over, to carry out the clear provisions of the law; first, because it is my sworn duty to do so, and second, because any foreigner who comes to this country and advocates the overthrow of our form of Government by force is an invading enemy, who is treated with great leniency when he is simply deported to the land from which he came." And this declaration has teeth. It is encouraging to read that some 7,000 or 8,000 undesirable aliens are to be deported from the United States at the earliest possible opportunity. To be sure, many of them are classed as "insane or otherwise public charges," but the list includes a great number of bolshevists and their sympathizers. That their deportation will be wholesome is shown by the recent removal of a small group of fifty-four to Ellis Island, under a guard of soldiers, while they rent the air with their shouts of "three cheers for the bolsheviki!" and "to hell with America!"

But what can we do with our "parlor bolshevists," who are American citizens and cannot be deported and who take pains to keep just within the limit of the law? There is but one medicine for them. Let each one of us make it his business to tell each one of them, as fast as they come to light, and in unvarnished terms, that their fellow citizens execrate and detest them.

We must go much further than this. It is at the port of entry that the danger threatens. The Governor of Pennsylvania says: "We must not tolerate the social wild men who would overthrow our republic. The Government at Washington must be alert in protecting us against an invasion through our ports of those who would seek to destroy this nation." It is said that the chairman of the House committee on immigration is framing a bill to suspend all immigration for at least four or five years. The Saturday Evening Post exclaims: "This whole business of immigration, both of ideas and men, needs revision. Why keep out anthrax and small pox and admit rabies freely? We need an influx of labor to keep our factories going and expand our commerce, is the usual answer. Not that kind of labor—nor any kind of labor that we cannot pay well and that is not good material for citizenship. For what shall it profit us to have all the commerce of the world, if in the end we blow up in one grand bolshevik bust? In planning our new list of imports let us include only desirables. In planning our new list of exports let us head it with undesirables. Under our laws we send rotten food to the dump because it is a menace to health. Rotten men, who are poisoning America with rotten propaganda, belong there, too. Why do they linger here when in Russia they can live the ideal that they preach? Utopia yawns for them. Make them go to it. We do not want them. America for Americans and men who want to be Americans."

But laws, however salutary and however sharply armed with penal provisions, are of but little effect unless backed by an aroused, alert, and determined public opinion, expressing itself in clear tones, and co-operating in every possible way in the enforcement of the laws. That is what America needs above all things just now. This is not an affair for Congress alone, nor for the commissioner of immigration, or the mayor of the city, or the policeman on his beat. They need our aid. It is your affair, and mine, and the affair of every one of us citizens of the United States who believe in the institutions, the traditions, and the government established long ago upon the sure foundation of justice and ordered liberty, and which have made our nation mighty and prosperous. As the National Association for Constitutional Government has recently resolved: "We recommend the holding of public meetings, wherever possible, to awaken our fellow citizens to the imminent danger which confronts us from within, to arouse them to renew their pledge of loyalty to the Constitution, and to express a determination that persons who resort to destructive methods must be taught—peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary — that their methods will not be tolerated, and the people of the United States believe in and will insist upon a government of laws and not of men."

But public opinion must be brought to a focus and provided with organs through which to function. Therefore we welcome the announcement of Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania that that

commonwealth is taking steps to form a committee of public welfare to combat bolshevism and similar forms of treason; that an appropriation will probably be made by the legislature; and that the members composing the committee will be men of the same high type that has marked the Pennsylvania Council of National Defense during the war. Whatever we do, let us not procrastinate. The poison is in our veins. Let us make haste to eject it and to fortify ourselves against the plague.





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